

281637Z Nov 00

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ACTION IO-00

INFO LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AGRE-00	AID-00	A-00	ACQ-00
CIAE-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00	VC-00	TEDE-00
INR-00	VCE-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	SSO-00
SS-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/004W	

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7727
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

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SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH
LONDON FOR GURNEY
PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS
PASS USAID FOR A/AID R.MCCALL AND AFR/SA FOR C.PALMA AND
M.WILLIAMS
NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/28/2010

TAGS: PREL PGOV EAGR ZI

SUBJECT: MFA PERMANENT SECRETARY ASKS FOR USG GESTURE
ON LAND TO COINCIDE WITH MALLOCH-BROWN VISIT

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR TOM MCDONALD FOR REASONS 1.5
(B) AND (D).

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¶1. (C) SUMMARY: DURING AN HOUR AND A HALF MEETING
NOVEMBER 28 MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERMANENT
SECRETARY WILLARD CHIWEWE SOUGHT AMBASSADOR MCDONALD'S

SIPDIS

PRACTICAL ADVICE ON HOW TO ENSURE THAT UNDP
ADMINISTRATOR MARK MALLOCH-BROWN'S VISIT TO ZIMBABWE WAS
A SUCCESS. THE PERMANENT SECRETARY SAID HE WAS LOOKING
FOR WAYS TO BUILD PRESIDENT MUGABE'S CONFIDENCE IN ORDER
TO ACCEPT CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS THAT INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY WILL HAVE WITH RESPECT ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM
PROGRAM, AND SOUGHT A SIGNAL FROM THE USG TO BOLSTER THE
ADMINISTRATOR'S MISSION. THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD
HAVE TO CONSULT WITH WASHINGTON REGARDING HIS REQUEST,
BUT ADVISED THE PRESIDENT NOT TO BE DEFENSIVE AND
READILY AGREE TO RESTORE THE RULE OF LAW WITH RESPECT TO
THE COMMERCIAL FARM OCCUPATIONS. CHIWEWE TOLD THE
AMBASSADOR THAT MUGABE WANTED TO SPEND SOME SUBSTANTIAL
TIME WITH MALLOCH-BROWN AND WOULD GIVE THOSE KINDS OF
ASSURANCES. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE
CLEAREST SIGNAL PRESIDENT MUGABE COULD SEND TO THE WEST
DEMONSTRATING HIS SERIOUSNESS WOULD BE TO CALL ON THE
WAR VETERANS TO LEAVE THE FARMS, THE PERMANENT SECRETARY
SAID THAT THAT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE UNDER THE
CIRCUMSTANCES. INSTEAD, HE SUGGESTED AN ACCELERATED
ACQUISITION AND RESETTLEMENT PROCESS. WE BELIEVE THAT
CHIWEWE HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNDP AND GENUINELY WANTS USG
INPUT. IF WE COULD REPACKAGE THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED
IN THE 1998 DONORS CONFERENCE AND SECURE ADDITIONAL
PLEDGES, WE MIGHT HAVE A WIN-WIN PROPOSITION ON OUR
HANDS. CHIWEWE SEEMED TO TAKE OUR POINTS ON BOARD AND
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THE ATMOSPHERICS WERE EXCELLENT. END SUMMARY.

¶2. (C) DURING A ONE AND A HALF-HOUR MEETING NOVEMBER 28
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERMANENT SECRETARY WILLARD
CHIWEWE INFORMED AMBASSADOR MCDONALD THAT HE HAD BEEN
BUSY MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR THE NOVEMBER 30 VISIT OF
UNDP ADMINISTRATOR MARK MALLOCH-BROWN. ON NOVEMBER 27
HE HAD CONSULTED UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE VICTOR
ANGELO AND ZIMBABWEAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE
UNITED NATIONS TICHAONA JOKONYA, AND THOUGHT HE SHOULD
TOUCH BASE WITH THE "CHIEF GLOBAL PLAYER," SO HE ASKED
THE AMBASSADOR TO COME OVER FOR A PRACTICAL DISCUSSION
ABOUT HOW TO GET SOMETHING DONE. CHIWEWE CAME STRAIGHT
TO HIS POINT: HE ASKED WHETHER THE USG COULD "GIVE A
SIGNAL" TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE THAT MALLOCH-BROWN
IS SERIOUS AND THAT THE DONOR COMMUNITY SUPPORTS HIM.
THE PERMANENT SECRETARY HAD ASKED ANGELO WHETHER THE
UNDP COULD CONTRIBUTE A SYMBOLIC AMOUNT TO THE FUND FOR

LAND REFORM, BUT THE LATTER UNDERSTANDABLY MADE NO COMMITMENT.

13. (C) AMBASSADOR McDONALD REPLIED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH WASHINGTON REGARDING HIS REQUEST. THAT SAID, THE AMBASSADOR underscored the fact that this was a "CRITICAL, CRITICAL" MEETING, BECAUSE ZIMBABWE WAS AT A FORK IN THE ROAD. HE TOLD CHIWEWE THAT PRESIDENT MUGABE SHOULD EMBRACE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE FORWARD. THE PERMANENT SECRETARY THEN ASKED THE AMBASSADOR, "WHAT DO YOU WANT THE PRESIDENT TO DO?" CHIWEWE underscored that he was looking for candid advice. THE AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD SAY TO MALLOCH-BROWN

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THAT HE NEEDS SUPPORT FOR HIS LAND REFORM PROGRAM AND SHOULD NOT ACT DEFENSIVELY. THE SENIOR ZIMBABWEAN DIPLOMAT REPORTED THAT, AS A SIGN OF THE IMPORTANCE PRESIDENT MUGABE ATTACHED TO THE VISIT, HE HAD SAID THAT HE WANTED "SOME REAL TIME WITH MR. BROWN." CHIWEWE CONTINUED THAT HE WAS TRYING TO GET ALLIES TO BUILD CONFIDENCE SO THE PRESIDENT WOULD NOT FIND HIMSELF "BENDING TO AN UNBENDING ENVIRONMENT." THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT THE MOST IMPRESSIVE THING MUGABE COULD DO TO SEND A CLEAR SIGNAL TO THE WEST WOULD BE FOR HIM TO GO TO HIS PORTICO AND CALL FOR THE WAR VETERANS TO LEAVE THE FARMS IMMEDIATELY. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN 90 PERCENT OF THEM WOULD DO SO, THE AMBASSADOR STATED.

14. (C) WHILE CHIWEWE APPRECIATED THE SUGGESTION, HE NOTED THAT MUGABE COULD NOT DO THAT, BECAUSE WHEN IT HAD BEEN TRIED IN THE PAST, WAR VETERANS LEFT THE PREMISES OF A FARM, BUT CAMPED BY THE SIDE OF THE ROAD ONLY TO RETURN LATER. IF WE HAD A CLEAR 5 MILLION AVAILABLE HECTARES, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SAY ANYTHING, THE PERMANENT SECRETARY SAID. INSTEAD, CHIWEWE THOUGHT THE WAY TO PROCEED WOULD BE TO QUICKEN

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THE PACE THROUGH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT LEGALLY ACQUIRED FARMS AND MOVED PEOPLE ONTO THOSE FARMS. "IT HAS TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACQUISITION, REMOVAL, ACQUISITION, REMOVAL, IN ORDER TO KEEP THE SITUATION CONTROLLED," HE ARGUED. IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE TO PROVOKE POLITICAL DISCONTENT WE COULD ASSUME THAT "MISCHIEF BEGINS AMONG SUCH PEOPLE." THE AMBASSADOR CAUTIONED THE PERMANENT SECRETARY THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD NOT PAY FOR LAND THAT WOULD GO TO CRIMINALS.

15. (C) AMBASSADOR McDONALD THEN SUGGESTED THAT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT WISH TO MEET MALLOCH-BROWN FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD ON THURSDAY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL AND THEN BEGIN DRAFTING A CLEAR STATEMENT OF SUBSTANTIVE PRINCIPLES, AFTER WHICH THE TWO WOULD MEET TO ANNOUNCE IT. CHIWEWE AGREED WITH THE CONCEPT, BUT SUGGESTED THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MALLOCH-BROWN DO IT, AS THEY ARE ON THE SAME LEVEL. THE AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE UNDP ADMINISTRATOR NEEDED TO LEAVE ZIMBABWE BEING ABLE TO SAY THAT HE MET PRESIDENT MUGABE AND THAT THE PRESIDENT

WANTS THE RULE OF LAW TO PREVAIL ON THE COMMERCIAL FARMS. HE WILL NEED THAT GUARANTEE FROM THE PRESIDENT, THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED. "AND HE WILL GET IT," THE PERMANENT SECRETARY CONCLUDED.

16. (C) COMMENT: IN HIS OWN BLUNT AND PECULIAR MANNER, CHIWEWE IS ATTEMPTING TO BUILD BRIDGES FROM HIS GOVERNMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HE MUST HAVE THE PRESIDENT'S NOD TO ENGAGE IN THESE PRACTICAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE WORK HE HAS PUT IN PREPARING FOR THE MALLOCH-BROWN VISIT IS INDICATIVE OF THE IMPORTANCE HIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO IT. WE HAVE NOT SEEN THOROUGH PREPARATION LIKE THIS BEFORE ANY OTHER SUCH GATHERING.

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THE WAY WE SEE IT, THE GOVERNMENT EITHER WILL TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY GIVEN BY THE VISIT TO DEFUSE TENSIONS AND BEGIN A SANE LAND REFORM PROGRAM, OR STEP UP THE PACE AND VIOLENCE OF THE CURRENT LAND GRAB. WE NEED TO THINK CREATIVELY OF WAYS WE CAN ENCOURAGE THE GOZ IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

17. (C) COMMENT CONTINUED: WE CAN SUGGEST ONE WAY: TAKE THE LAND AND REFORM RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM THAT THE GOZ AND THE DONORS HAD AGREED TO IN 1998; THROW IN SOME NEW PLEDGES (FROM DONORS AND THE CFU) TO GET THE GOZ UP TO THE 5 MILLION HECTARES IT IS LOOKING FOR; "REPACKAGE" IT COMPLETE WITH A CLEVER NEW NAME THAT SINGS "LAND TO THE PEOPLE" TO ZIMBABWEANS AND "RULE OF LAW" TO CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE DONOR COMMUNITY; LET MUGABE DECLARE VICTORY AND CALL THE WAR VETERANS OFF THE FARMS; AND GET THE LAND PROGRAM BACK "ON-TRACK" AND THIS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSITION OFF THE DIME. WITH THE RIGHT NEGOTIATING SKILLS, THIS COULD BE PULLED OFF IN AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE EVERYONE NEEDS A WIN. END COMMENT.

MCDONALD

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